DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 257 829 SP 026 247

AUTHOR Murphy, Michael J.; And Others
TITLE Teacher Career Ladders in Britain. A Study of Their Structure and Impact.
INSTITUTION University Council for Educational Administration, Columbus, Ohio.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (ED), Washington, DC.
PUB DATE [84]
GRANT NIE-P-84-0067
NOTE 39p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Descriptive (141)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Career Choice; *Career Ladders; Differentiated Staffs; Faculty Mobility; Foreign Countries; *Incentives; Job Performance; *Program Design; Teacher Effectiveness; Teacher Salaries
IDENTIFIERS Great Britain; *United Kingdom

ABSTRACT

A career ladder for teachers has been used in Great Britain for over 40 years. The ladder contains five steps with teachers progressing up the ladder by competitive promotion. This study investigated the historical development, structure, and consequences on teacher behavior of the career ladder system used in the United Kingdom. The study was designed to gather information for policy makers who are considering and designing career ladders for teachers across the United States. Four questions provided the primary focus for the study: (1) How are the British career ladders organized? (2) Do career ladders improve teacher performance directly by providing incentives or indirectly by placing good teachers in leadership roles? (3) How does the presence of a career ladder for teachers affect work relationships among teachers and between teachers and administrators? and (4) Do career ladders improve the teacher work force by affecting occupational and career decisions of people considering teaching or currently teaching? (JD)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

NIE-P-84-0067

ED257829

TEACHER CAREER LADDERS IN BRITAIN
A Study of Their Structure and Impact

Michael J. Murphy

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

With the Assistance of

Richard Blomquist, Jim Campbell
Anna Marie Dunlap, Arnette Duzett
Nina Gray, Hurley Hansen
Darlene Hutchison, Richard Kendell
Hugh Rush, Lawrence Welling

Prepared for the National Institute of Education

CENTER FOR PERSONNEL LAW
AND
EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS IN EDUCATION
OF THE
UNIVERSITY COUNCIL FOR EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

SP 026 247

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Career ladders for teachers have become an important professional and public policy issue across the United States. Many states are now considering or have enacted career ladder legislation. The United States Department of Education is encouraging career ladder experimentation and the Secretary of Education has funded a number of projects to test the feasibility of various career ladder plans.

A career ladder for teachers has been used in Great Britain for over 40 years. The ladder contains five rungs or steps. Teachers progress up the ladder by competitive promotion. Each school in Britain has a limited number of positions at each ladder level. As these positions fall vacant they are nationally advertised and teachers who wish to compete for a promotion apply. Five applicants are selected as finalists and interviewed by the principal and board of governors. The successful applicant is awarded the post by the board of governors. If the new position is at a higher ladder step, the successful teacher candidate has won a promotion.

Teachers in career ladder positions have additional responsibilities in British schools. Usually these are instructional or curricular leadership responsibilities, but in some cases they may be administrative. The higher the ladder step of the position, the more extensive the responsibilities. The specification of responsibilities for career ladder positions is left to schools.

A team of eleven Utah educators and policy makers interviewed over one hundred British teachers, school administrators, government officials, professors, and association leaders about the career ladder in June, 1984. The following conclusions have emerged from this study of the British career ladder:

1. Schools in Great Britain have considerable autonomy and vary greatly in the way provisions of the career ladder are implemented. British schools can, and do use career ladder positions differently, and this leads to variability in the distribution of responsibilities among schools. Commitment shown toward the ladder by teachers seems affected by the way positions are used.

2. The differentiated staffing arrangement employed in Britain is a ladder that emphasizes growth and career development. Promotions are relatively permanent, are awarded on the basis of demonstrated ability, and represent a new leadership challenge.

3. The British career ladder contains powerful incentives for teachers. Teachers plan their careers around the possibility for promotion and prepare for responsibilities that are commonly associated with higher level posts.

4. The career ladder system in Britain encourages teacher mobility. The national advertisement of and open competition for scale post vacancies, national salary schedule and desire for rapid promotion all increase teacher mobility.

5. The career ladder cultivates instructional leadership and develops commitment to school improvement. Teachers learn instructional leadership by taking increasing and varied responsibility as the move through scale posts. The sharing of leadership responsibilities brought about by the ladder increases program ownership and concern for instructional quality.

6. The career ladder allows leadership responsibilities to be divided and perhaps done more completely and efficiently. Because they shared leadership tasks with teachers in career ladder positions, principals had time to be instructional leaders and teachers.

7. Each school can tailor career ladder posts to school program needs and recruit staff according to those needs. Schools can define positions and work to recruit and select staff who will strengthen the faculty and lead to school improvement.

8. The British formula for distributing career ladder posts provides fewer career opportunities for teachers in elementary schools. Career ladder positions are allocated to schools on the basis of an age/size weighted formula. Smaller schools with younger students have fewer career ladder positions and elementary teachers have fewer promotion opportunities.

9. Teacher performance is not systematically evaluated in British schools. Many teachers, union leaders, administrators and government officials believe that a more regular, objective system of teacher assessment is need in Britain.

10. Outstanding teachers who are unwilling to assume additional responsibilities or who are unable to control mobility do not benefit directly from the British career ladder system. Teachers who are content to be good classroom teachers and who do not seek additional responsibilities will not be promoted in British schools; those who are unable pursue posts in other locations have reduced promotion opportunities.

It appears that a career ladder of the type used in Britain can have a positive impact on teaching quality. A pattern of differentiated positions has been successful in providing career opportunities to teachers in Britain, and probably has contributed in significant ways to the improvement of education in that country. There are many advantages to a career ladder program with differentiated responsibilities in American schools.

1. Teachers with proven ability can be placed in leadership positions. These teachers can be models and mentors to younger

teachers and can promote better teaching in general. They can be a significant force in developing good, workable curriculum that will enhance student learning.

2. The career ladder can be an effective leadership development device. Not only will there be a significant cadre of teachers in leadership positions in each school, but principals and assistant principals will be better prepared for their roles through experiences they will have received moving up the career ladder before becoming administrators.

3. Because leadership functions are more widely shared in the school, more teachers have a stake in school performance. More people are directly involved in school improvement activities.

4. There is opportunity and incentive for teachers to grow, to develop new skills, to accept new challenges. Although the career ladder is not a cure-all for teacher burnout, it certainly can reduce it.

5. To the extent that the career ladder can make teaching a more challenging and rewarding occupation, it can become a powerful incentive to attract and retain qualified people in the profession.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study would not have been possible without the enthusiastic cooperation of many individuals. They need to be thanked publicly for their efforts. First are the ten Utah school board members, administrators and teacher association leaders who served on the team. They volunteered a significant amount of time to plan the study, do the field work in Britain and negotiate the findings. The team members were:

Mr. Richard Blomquist, Member, Jordan School District Board Of Education

Mr. Jim Campbell, Vice-President elect, Utah Education Association and teacher in the Provo School District

Ms. Anna Marie Dunlap, Associate Director, Utah Department of Community and Economic Development and Senior Education Advisor to Governor Scott M. Matheson

Dr. Annette Duzett, Principal, Kearns Junior High School, Granite School District

Ms. Nina Gray, President, Emery Education Association and teacher in the Emery School District

Mr. Hurley Hansen, President, Utah Education Association and teacher in the Salt Lake City School District

Ms. Darlene Hutchison, Member, Utah State Board of Education

Dr. Richard Kendell, Associate State Superintendent of Public Instruction

Mr. Hugh Rush, President, Salt Lake Teachers Association and teacher in the Salt Lake City School District

Dr. Lawrence Welling, Superintendent, Davis County School District

Study team members also drafted summary responses to individual interview questions. Many of these summary paragraphs have been incorporated into this report, but since successive editing and revising has obscured individual authorship, the credit must be shared with all.

British governmental officials, school administrators, teachers and others who made time in their busy schedules to talk to us about the ways teachers are promoted, how their work is organized, and how this affects educational outcomes in Britain also deserve thanks. During the ten days we interviewed in Britain, we talked with well over one hundred educators, governmental officials and association leaders. They all gave unstintingly of their time and were unfailingly gracious. Although they are too many to thank by name, we are exceeding grateful for their help.

A special word of thanks is due to Mr. Lynton Gray of the Anglian Regional Management Centre at the North East London Polytechnic. Several months before we arrived in London, Mr. Gray began arranging interviews for us with important educational and governmental leaders. He sent countless letters and made numerous phone calls on the team's behalf. Without his advice and advance work our data would be less complete and our conclusions less secure.

Thanks also go to the school districts and agencies in Utah who endorsed this project, supported it financially and released people from other duties to work on it. The Utah Schools Boards Association, the Society of Superintendents, the Utah Education Association and the Utah State Office of Education helped organize the project and identify participants. The Davis County School District, the Emery County School District, the Granite School District, the Jordan School District, the Provo School District, and the Salt Lake City School District all contributed financial support and personnel to the project as did the Utah Education Association, the Utah Department of Community and Economic Development, the Utah State Board of Education and the University of Utah. We thank the boards, superintendents and others in these agencies who made this project possible.

Secretary Bell first suggested that individuals in other states might like to know more about the British career ladder and asked if the Department of Education could help in the dissemination of findings. Staff at the National Institute for Education picked up the idea and provided support for the refinement of the teams findings and the production of this report.

All of us who worked on the project hope their investment will be rewarded by better knowledge of career ladders and, in the long run, more effective schools.

CONTENTS

	Page
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY	1
Introduction	1
Purpose of the Study	2
Methodology	2
THE BRITISH CAREER EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM	4
Department of Education and Science	4
Local Education Authorities	4
Schools	5
School and Class Size in Britain	6
Per-Pupil Expenditures for Education	6
Teachers' Unions	7
Public Attitudes Toward Schools	7
THE BRITISH CAREER LADDER FOR TEACHERS	8
History of the British Career Ladder System	8
Structure of the British Career Ladder	8
Number of Steps or Categories in the Ladder	8
Job Differentiation in the Ladder	8
Pay Structure within the Ladder	10
Promotion in the Ladder	12
British Experience with the Career Ladder	13
The Ladder from the Teachers' Viewpoint	13
Administrative and Governance Considerations	13

CONTENTS (continued)

	Page
Career and Occupational Impacts	18
Other Impacts	19
MAJOR CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE BRITISH CAREER LADDER	20
THE BRITISH CAREER LADDER AND AMERICAN SCHOOLS	23
Can the British Career Ladder Be Adopted by American Schools?	23
Can a Career Ladder Improve Teaching?	24
APPENDIX A	25
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	29

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Burnham Scale of Salaries for 1983-1984	11
Table 2: Distribution of Full Time Elementary and Secondary Teachers by Salary Scales in 1983	12

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

Career ladders for teachers have become an important professional and public policy issue across the United States. Many states are now considering or have enacted career ladder legislation. The United States Department of Education is encouraging career ladder experimentation and the Secretary of Education has funded a number of projects to test the feasibility of various career ladder plans.

Though relatively old in concept, the career ladder idea has not been used much in public schools. Interest in it now can be traced to national and state commission reports and the reform proposals which grow out of them. Although the National Commission on Excellence in Education recognized the career ladder concept in A Nation at Risk, the Commission made no specific recommendations for implementing career ladders. It remained for state reform commissions to seize the idea and many have now featured career ladders in their reform proposals.

Career ladders have gained popularity for a variety of reasons. First, they are consistent with the belief that people should gain responsibility, status, and pay as they mature and acquire work skills. Organizational sociologists and psychologists have argued for some time that individuals need to have new job challenges periodically in order to retain their vigor in the work place.

Second, career ladders represent an alternative to merit pay systems within the general reform framework. Most educational reformers advocate abandoning the single salary schedule which provides salary increases only on the basis of seniority and additional training and propose using salary systems that reflect more closely the value of the individual to the organization and the reality of the market place. Yet merit pay, another alternative for rewarding people of basis of performance, has been opposed by teacher organizations and and some find the career ladders more to their liking.

Third, although they are not merit pay systems as one finds in industry, career ladders can reflect merit. They allow school systems to identify and reward, by ladder promotion, competent teachers.

Interestingly, career ladders are not being advocated because of research findings or successful experience. Because career ladders are so new in their application there is no current experience in the United States from which to gather research data about their effects. Nearly all of the literature to date is either extrapolated from other work settings or speculation in terms of anticipated outcomes of career ladders. Despite the paucity of career ladder research opportunities in the United States there are career ladders that have been in effect for some time in other countries. An example is in the British school system where they have used a career ladder for more than forty years. In that British

schools are similar to schools in the United States in many important ways, the career ladder in Britain is a "natural experiment" that can be studied to determine the effects of career ladders.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study was to investigate the historical development, structure, and consequences on teacher behavior of the career ladder system as used in the United Kingdom. In that the career ladder is a public policy issue, this study was designed to gather information for policy makers, particularly those policy makers who are considering and designing career ladders for teachers, and those who will be deciding the fate of career ladder programs in legislatures across the United States.

This study was designed to answer policy questions. Four questions provided the primary focus for the study:

1. How are the British career ladders organized?

2. Do career ladders improve teacher performance directly by providing incentives or indirectly by placing good teachers in leadership roles?

3. How does the presence of a career ladder for teachers affect work relationships among teachers and between teachers and administrators?

4. Do career ladders improve the teacher work force by affecting occupational choices and career decisions of people considering teaching or currently teaching?

METHODOLOGY

There are a number of stakeholders in teacher career ladders: school boards, administrators, teachers, elected officials. In this study we sought to harness these groups to design the research, to increase the trustworthiness of findings, and to gain greater dissemination of findings. The approach used in this study was to gather together a team of individuals who represented the primary groups with interests in career ladders. This team would examine the career ladder "natural experiment" in Britain and, using the filters which come from experiences in their various jobs, try to make sense out of it. Eleven persons from the State of Utah were selected to journey to Great Britain to examine career ladders and determine the impact of these ladders on the operation of schools and schools systems. The team consisted of representative school board members, administrators, teacher association leaders, as well as an education aide to the Governor and a university professor.

Prior to departure for London the team met twice to discuss protocol and refine interview questions. Using the broad questions posed above, the team developed a more detailed set of questions to guide the interviews. These questions are shown in Appendix A.

June 9, 1984 the eleven member team went to Great Britain and for ten days conducted interviews with governmental officials, association leaders, schools administrators and teachers in Great Britain. We sought out academics who had studied the career ladder system in Britain or were in a position to know about its impact. We visited primary and secondary schools that were selected for us by individuals in Great Britain to represent both schools where the career ladder was seen to make a very positive contribution and to be working well and schools where the general attitude and morale was low and the ladder didn't seem to be working well at all. We also took opportunities to interact with groups of educators that were assembled for other purposes so that we might probe their experience with the ladder and cast as wide a net as possible about the experience with the career ladder.

On return to Utah we began the process of organizing our findings. Study team members wrote discussion summary responses to particular interview questions. We met four separate times in long afternoon sessions to discuss individual observations, negotiate common findings and conclusions, and review and edit draft statements. The findings and conclusions included in this report are the record of this team effort.

THE BRITISH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM [1]

This section provides a brief overview of the British educational system. It is at best an introduction to a complex system and is offered as background for the career ladder system employed in British schools. Those wishing to know more about British education are directed to the bibliography at the end of this report.

The British officially describe their educational system as a "national system locally administered."[2] This description appropriately captures the extensive sharing of powers and decisions that exists in British education among central government, local education authorities and schools.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

The Department of Education and Science (DES), headed by a cabinet member, the Secretary of State for Education and Science, is responsible for formulating national policy on education. In many ways it functions as a combined United States Department of Education and state department of education. The DES plays an influential role in determining teacher salaries and general levels of educational expenditures throughout England. It sets educational building policy and approves all school building projects. The DES is responsible for the training of all teachers in England and sets standards for teacher qualification.

LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES

There are 105 local education authorities (LEA's) in England and Wales. They are part of local government, in effect being the education departments of municipalities and counties. The governing body of the local education authority is an education committee which must be appointed by counties and municipalities with education authority. At least half the members of an education committee must be elected members of the county or municipal council. All education committees must also include members with specialized knowledge and experience in education. The primary administrative officer on an LEA is the chief education officer (CEO). Appointed by the local authority, the chief education officer is equivalent to the superintendent of schools in the United States. LEA's function much as local school districts do in the United States. They are responsible for providing publicly maintained schools throughout their area, and for recruiting teachers and paying teacher salaries.

---

[1]The term "British" as used in this report refers to educational provisions in England and Wales. The Scottish educational system differs in significant ways from the one in England and Wales, as does the one in Northern Ireland.

[2]Department of Education and Science, The Education System of England and Wales. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1983. Page 1.

ROLE OF THE LOCAL AUTHORITY IN HIRING AND SETTING WORKING CONDITIONS

Teachers are employed by the local education authority, although hiring of teachers is done at the local school level, not the local education authority level.

Working conditions, such as leaves, class size, and length of work day, are determined at the local education authority level. Often they are developed in joint consultation with union representatives. Salaries are set at the national level by the Burnham committee.

Teacher salaries are paid from the local education budget, although salaries are strictly controlled by the Burnham schedule. About half the money to pay teachers comes from local property taxes and half from the national government.

SCHOOLS

Schools in Britain have considerable local autonomy. Each school has a governing body charged with general direction and curriculum oversight. The school governing body, often called school governors or just governors, is made up of 12 to 15 people representing parents (called parent governors), teachers (called teacher governors), and the local education authority. Local education authority governors are appointed by the LEA, must be in a majority, and one of their members must chair the school governing body. Parent governors are elected by parents and must have a child in the school to be eligible. Teacher governors are elected by the staff of the school.

The building administrator in the British system is called a head teacher or head master/mistress. The head teacher has the option of serving as a member of the governing body. In addition to a head teacher, all British schools with 51 or more students have at least one deputy head teacher assigned. Larger schools may have two or three. It is common practice for head teachers and deputy head teachers to teach part time.

Since neither central government nor local authorities establish curriculum requirements, schools are expected to set their own curriculum, select textbooks and make a number of school policy decisions normally made at the state or school district level in the United States. In practice, most organizational, curriculum and instructional decisions fall to the head teacher and members of the teaching staff. Most personnel decisions are also made at the school. Although technically employed by the LEA, teachers are selected by the school governors in consultation with the head teacher. The governors also select the head teacher.

As in most western democracies, British parents have a choice of school types. They may send their children to publicly supported or "maintained" schools which are free, or they may choose independent private or "non-maintained" schools which are supported by fees or endowments. Parochial schools operated by the Church of England, Roman Catholic Church or other denomination may receive state support and are known

as "voluntary" maintained schools. About 32 percent of the maintained schools in England are voluntary schools; mostly they are Church of England and Roman Catholic schools. About 94 percent of the students attend maintained schools.

School attendance is compulsory in Britain for all children between the ages of five and sixteen. Education is also provided for all between 16 and 19 years of age who wish it. Typically, a British student enters a primary school at age 5. At age 11, the student moves to a secondary school and continues there until reaching the school leaving age of 16. Many secondary schools provide for 16 to 18 or 19 year olds in what is called a sixth form. In some areas, primary schools are divided into infant schools (roughly kindergarten through 2nd grade) and junior schools (roughly grades 3 through 6). Due to reform carried out in the late 1960's, most secondary schools in Britain now are comprehensives. Some grammar schools with an academic emphasis and secondary modern schools with a vocational emphasis remain from the earlier selective secondary school practice, however. Some schools are still single sex. In all a British family has a wide variety of publicly supported school types from which to choose.

SCHOOL AND CLASS SIZE IN BRITAIN

As a general rule, British schools are smaller than their American counterparts. It is rare for a secondary school to reach an enrollment of 2,000 students in Britain even though it may cover an age span greater than American high schools.

As they do in the United States, pupil-teacher ratios vary considerably from authority to authority. Smaller and more rural authorities tend to have smaller ratios. In 1981, the average pupil-teacher ratio in England was 19.3 for public elementary and secondary schools. Elementary schools had a ratio of 22.6 and secondary schools 16.6.

One representative local education authority of about 95,000 pupils and 4,800 teachers, had an average pupil teacher ratio of 19.9 in 1984. Primary schools in this LEA averaged 23.5 students per teacher and secondary schools 16.8 students per teacher.

In Britain, head teachers and deputy head teachers are counted as teachers even though they may not teach full time or have a regular classroom assignment. Thus pupil-teacher ratios will be lower than actual class sizes. The above LEA surveyed elementary classrooms in 1984 and found that they averaged 26.4 students each.

PER-PUPIL EXPENDITURES FOR EDUCATION

Because of the decentralization in the British system of education most expenditure records are kept on a school by school basis and budgeting is on a school site basis. Expenditures vary considerably both across and within local education authorities. For example, in 1982/83 expenditure

per pupil in elementary schools varied from 556 pounds to 1025 pounds. The average was 649 pounds. In secondary schools during the same year the per pupil expenditure ranged from 748 pounds to 1427 pounds with an average of 903 pounds.

TEACHERS' UNIONS

Teachers in Britain are extensively unionized. Most teachers belong to the National Union of Teachers (NUT) or the National Association of Schoolmasters/Union of Women Teachers (NAS/UWT). The NUT is the largest and oldest of the teachers' unions, and has its greatest strength among elementary school teachers. The NAS/UWT has been the more militant of the two unions and its membership reflects a high proportion of secondary school teachers.

Teachers unions in Britain are quite influential in educational policy making both at the parliamentary and local authority level. They are aggressive as well in pursuing job rights for their members. Head teachers frequently belong to one of the major teachers' unions and will usually support their union during job actions.

PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOLS

It is as difficult to characterize public opinion about Britain's schools in a few sentences as it is for American public opinion. Views vary considerably among parents and taxpayers about school quality, for example, and head teachers report that they are giving more time to community relations in an effort to build positive sentiment. British parents seem somewhat less critical of schools than American parents and more willing to let professionals make most educational decisions.

THE BRITISH CAREER LADDER FOR TEACHERS

HISTORY OF THE BRITISH CAREER LADDER SYSTEM

The career ladder for teachers in Britain is formally a part of the teacher salary structure. In Great Britain teachers have negotiated their wages centrally since shortly after World War I. The negotiating arena is known as the Burnham Committee, named after its first permanent chairman, Lord Burnham. Prior to 1944, salaries were negotiated separately for primary and secondary teachers. With the 1944 Education Act, the two negotiations were combined to produce a single wage scale and the salary awards given statutory force.

The term "career ladder" is not used in Britain to describe their system of pay scales for teachers. Rather the system is referred to as "Burnham Scale" and career ladder positions are known as "Posts of Special Responsibility" or "Scale Posts." The number of scales (steps in the ladder), total number of scale post positions that will be available, and the salary scale for each post are negotiated annually in the Burnham Committee as they have been since before 1944.

The Burnham Scale or ladder has undergone several modifications during its history. In 1956, the Unit Total System (UTS) was adopted which increased the difference in pay between secondary and primary teachers. Revisions were again made in 1971 and 1974 which somewhat decreased the primary-secondary differential by changing the age-weighted points and collapsing the five scales into four. The UTS is described in more detail further on in the report. The 1971 and 1974 revisions also provided head and deputy head teachers with a separate incremental salary scale. A few years later the five scale range was reestablished by beginning the senior teacher scale.

STRUCTURE OF THE BRITISH CAREER LADDER

Number of Steps or Categories in the Ladder

There are currently five scales plus a deputy head teacher and a head teacher scale in the career ladder structure in Britain. The first four scales are simply known as Scale 1-4; Scale 5 is the Senior Teacher scale. Within each scale is a series of pay grades or increments. Teachers progress through these pay increments within a given scale on the basis of experience. Movement up the ladder is treated as a job promotion and results only when a teacher competes successfully for a higher scale position.

Job Differentiation in the Ladder

Each person holding a scale post has a job description specifying the responsibilities attached to the post. These will be duties in addition to normal teaching duties which are not usually included in

the post job description. The significance which is tied to scale post responsibilities seems to vary. People were interviewed in particular schools and local authorities where responsibilities were important and job descriptions taken seriously; others somewhat flagrantly used a post to move someone up on the salary schedule. In the latter case the post would be laughingly referred to as "coffee pot washer." It is difficult to know in what portion of the schools the posts are taken seriously and in what portion they are not. There are at least some local education authorities where posts and job descriptions were taken seriously throughout. Despite the fact that teacher salaries in Britain are standardized throughout the country, job descriptions for given scale posts varied enormously and reflected school differences.

Job descriptions for career ladder positions (scale posts of responsibility) are normally unique to a particular school. Similarities can and do occur, however. Secondary schools often use their scale 3 and scale 4 posts for "head of department" or "head of area." For example, the job of head of the mathematics department is very similar from one school to the next. Job descriptions are likely to be more variable in elementary schools.

Recognizing that job descriptions do vary considerably among schools, some typical responsibilities for the various scales are listed below as a point of reference:

> A scale 1 teacher is a beginning teacher who may help with the development of curriculum and the general organization of the school. The main function of a scale 1 teacher is to teach.
>
> A scale 2 teacher is more involved in curriculum. This person has more responsibility and may be in charge of curriculum guidelines, goals and budget.
>
> A scale 3 position is usually occupied by a department head or a person in charge of a subject area. This person may have responsibility in a small school which would be equivalent to the responsibility of a scale 4 in a large school.
>
> A scale 4 post is occupied by a department head in a large department or a head of faculty. This person may be in charge of the stock of materials, staff development and/or the syllabus for the department. In a small school, the scale 3 person might have some of these responsibilities.
>
> The senior teacher is higher than scale 4 on the salary schedule. This person, while still a classroom teacher, often has significant responsibilities in the school. A senior teacher may be head of a lower or upper school in a secondary school or in charge of testing and measurement.

Job descriptions are developed at the school level. Often they are written by the head teacher in consultation with the chairman of

the school governors. In some local education authorities the senior inspector or other officer will review job descriptions and recommend changes. The job description is the basis of position advertisements placed in the national press and also the basis for the development of hiring criteria. The higher the scale post, the more scrutiny it is likely to receive from the governors and inspectors.

Pay Structure within the Ladder

SALARY SCHEDULE

The Burnham Scale of Salaries or salary schedule looks very much like a typical U. S. salary schedule at first glance. There are five columns representing the five scales. Within each scale (column) is a range of salary amounts that may be earned depending on incremental points which usually represent credited years of service but may reflect other experience. Teachers normally progress through the salary range in the scale until they reach the top salary or are promoted to the next scale. If they are promoted to the next scale, they will receive the next highest salary plus one increment. The 1983-84 Burnham schedule is shown in Table 1.

The salary range on the 1983-84 Burnham schedule ranges from 5,178 pounds sterling to a maximum of 12,744 pounds, or a ratio of about 2.5 to 1 from lowest to highest. Only a small percent of teachers benefit from the higher salaries, however, as less than 2% of the teaching work force are senior teachers. United States dollar conversions are shown below the British wages for comparison.

UNIT TOTAL SYSTEM FOR ALLOCATING POSTS

The Burnham unit total system (UTS) was developed in order to provide particular levels of salaries and the desired numbers of promotion posts in different types and sizes of schools. The Burnham Committee sets certain guidelines for the local education authorities to follow.

Students are assigned age-weighted units, from which a total is calculated for each school. Students under 14 years of age count 2 units, 14 year olds count 3 units, 15 year olds 4 units, 16 year olds 6 units and students who are 17 or older count 8 units. For primary schools, student enrollment is multiplied by two to obtain the unit total since all students are under 14 years of age. In secondary schools, students in each age category must be counted, multiplied by the appropriate weight, and added together.

The unit total determines the Burnham grouping to which each school will belong. A school's group assignment determines the highest scale teacher that the school may hire, the number of scale posts in the school, and the salary of head and deputy head teachers.

In national Burnham negotiations a point score range is assigned to each unit total group. Local education authorities may fix the actual

Table 1

Burnham Scale of Salaries
for 1983-1984

Incremental Point	Scales				
	1	2	3	4	Senior Teacher
0	£ 5,178	5,949	7,359	8,754	9,435
	$ 7,249	8,329	10,303	12,256	13,209
1	£ 5,418	6,174	7,617	9,132	9,789
	$ 7,585	8,644	10,664	12,785	13,705
2	£ 5,598	6,405	7,878	9,435	10,143
	$ 7,837	8,967	11,029	13,209	14,200
3	£ 5,778	6,636	8,142	9,789	10,497
	$ 8,089	9,290	11,399	13,705	14,696
4	£ 5,949	6,879	8,454	10,143	10,851
	$ 8,329	9,631	11,836	14,200	15,191
5	£ 6,174	7,119	8,754	10,497	11,352
	$ 8,644	9,967	12,256	14,696	15,893
6	£ 6,405	7,359	9,132	10,851	11,763
	$ 8,967	10,303	12,785	15,191	16,468
7	£ 6,636	7,617	9,435	11,352	12,333
	$ 9,290	10,664	13,209	15,893	17,266
8	£ 6,879	7,878	9,789	11,763	12,744
	$ 9,631	11,029	13,705	16,468	17,842
9	£ 7,119	8,142	10,143		
	$ 9,967	11,399	14,200		
10	£ 7,359	8,454	10,497		
	$ 10,303	11,836	14,696		
11	£ 7,617	8,754			
	$ 10,664	12,256			
12	£ 7,878	9,132			
	$ 11,029	12,785			
13	£ 8,142				
	$ 11,399				

exchange rate = $1.40 = £1

point score anywhere in this range. The point score determines the scale posts below deputy head available to a given school that falls in the unit total grouping. The head teacher can determine how to divide up the points awarded to the school.

For example, an elementary school with 260 students has a unit total of 520 (each student under 14 has a weight of two) and falls within the 501 to 600 unit total grouping. A school in this grouping has a point score range of 5-8 and a highest post of scale 3. The local education authority fixes the point score somewhere within the point score range specified by the Burnham committee. One shire county education authority we studied fixes the point score for schools in the 501 to 600 unit total group at 5. Thus our elementary school with 260 students would have 5 points to use toward scale posts. Scale 2 posts count one against the point total, scale 3 posts count two, and scale 4 posts count three. The total points used in scale posts may not exceed the point score nor the highest scale allowed. Thus our example school with a scale 3 limit may have two scale 3 posts and one scale 2 post. More likely it will have three scale 2 posts and one scale 3 post or even five scale 2 posts. All of these scale combinations require five points.

A larger elementary school of 525 students in the same shire county has an approved point score of 12 within the Burnham point score range of 11-21 and a highest scale of 3. Such a school could have a combination of scale 2 and scale 3 posts up to the 12 point limit.

In practice the number of upper scale posts is severely limited. In 1983 only 10% of the teachers were in scale 4 and senior teacher (scale 5) posts. Nearly all scale 3, 4, and 5 posts are in secondary schools. Teacher distributions for scale posts are shown in Table 2.

Table 2

DISTRIBUTION OF FULL TIME ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY TEACHERS BY SALARY SCALES IN 1983

	No.	%age
Scale 1	120,873	33.6
Scale 2	132,864	36.9
Scale 3	70,168	19.5
Scale 4	28,966	8.1
Senior Teachers	6,856	1.9
	359,723	100.0

Promotion on the Ladder

The main criterion for promotion is how well an applicant fits the job. A school advertises an opening, reviews papers and interviews

candidates. The most satisfactory candidate is hired. The confidential report (letter of recommendation) from a candidate's head teacher is an important part of the hiring decision.

Teaching performance is considered only as it is reflected in confidential recommendations from head teachers or inspectors. There is no systematic provision for performance evaluation in the British educational system.

A promotion is analogous to being hired for a job, and the procedure is similar. After the job is advertised, the head teacher, chairman of governors and possibly the area inspector screen applicants on the basis of vita and letters of recommendation. Five candidates are then interviewed by the same committee. The final decision rests with the governors, although the governors would not appoint someone against the objections of the head teacher.

Although teachers will be consulted or involved sometimes during screening and interviews, usually they are not. There is no systematic way for peers to affect promotion decisions. Two teachers do sit on the governing board in every school and therefore do have a voice in hiring decisions.

Except for violations of the law or professional conduct, appointments to scale posts are permanent as long as the teacher remains at the school. Post appointments are not transferable to other schools, even those within the same district. However, a teacher may competitively apply for a scale post at the same or higher level at another school. Teachers who hold scale posts are "safeguarded" meaning they will be paid for that post even if the school loses the right to the post due to enrollment declines.

BRITISH EXPERIENCE WITH THE CAREER LADDER

The Ladder from the Teachers' Viewpoint

TEACHER SATISFACTION WITH THE LADDER

Most teachers in England seem to support the career ladder system. The career ladder promotes satisfaction by providing a way in which teachers can participate in a variety of instruction and management roles. In addition, the career ladder has provided promotional opportunities which give teaching a greater career orientation.

On the other hand, morale among British teachers is low. Teachers receive low pay in comparison to other professional occupations (the police are better paid, for example). Due to declining enrollment, fewer promotional opportunities are available. Some teachers feel that they should receive promotions on the basis of good teaching alone, not for taking on additional responsibilities. Other teachers complain that primary schools have fewer upper scale posts. In spite of these complaints, most professionals interviewed said they would not want

to change the Burnham system except to correct for the negative effects of declining enrollments.

TEACHERS' VIEWS OF PROMOTION OPPORTUNITIES

Teachers view their positions on the scale in varying ways. Many teachers are satisfied with their scale level and are not expecting to be promoted. Primary schools are small, therefore, there are few upper scale posts. However, a large number of women elect to teach in the primary grades and seem content to remain in a scale 1 or 2 position. This may be because there are not as many promotional possibilities at the primary level. Also, married women whose husbands provide the primary income are unlikely to be mobile enough to seek promotions in distant locations.

Many other teachers are career-oriented and are openly seeking advancements. They plan to move frequently in order to achieve higher posts more quickly. These teachers may have greater commitment to their professional career than to any school. It is necessary for career-oriented teachers to acquire many and varied experiences in order to obtain good recommendations for promotion applications. Women who are mobile can often obtain head teacher positions because there are affirmative action pressures in Britain as there are in the United States and fewer women apply.

There are also teachers who are not satisfied with their present position, but who have little opportunity for promotion. Some teachers were not given promotions for which they applied. Competition for promotions has been intensified by declining enrollments and the fact that central government has decreased its financial support to schools due to a poor national economy. Further contractions in British education will almost certainly result in more disappointed aspirants.

Promotional opportunities are available for teachers who are willing to move frequently and who seek a wide range of experiences. In secondary schools especially, teachers who seek promotions must assume responsibility for clubs, student counselling, activities, curriculum and scheduling. Teachers will sometimes make a lateral move in order to gain additional experience. No additional education is required for promotion to any post although graduate education may improve the chance for promotion in some cases. Head teachers do encourage and help teachers who want promotions. Teachers who apply for promotion and who are not selected often try to improve their attractiveness by acquiring a broader range of experience through different instructional and management assignments.

APPEAL PROCEDURES

There are no formal provisions for teacher appeal promotion decisions to an outside or independent body. Teachers can appeal to the Board of Governors, but usually do not. This is partly because teachers feel that the system is basically fair and partly because there is little motivation among teachers to "make waves" because future applications

for promotion might be negatively affected. Teachers in Britain can always avail themselves of the courts if they feel they have been discriminated against.

LADDER EFFECTS ON TEACHER COOPERATION

It is sometimes assumed that career ladders will disrupt constructive work relationships among teachers. As teachers compete for promotion, they may be reluctant to share ideas and work together for fear of aiding a potential competitor. In general we did not find that career ladders directly reduced teacher collaboration in Britain. Many professionals feel that the competition for posts and difference in pay among post holders does not affect sharing among teachers because the career ladder system is "a way of life" to which British teachers have become accustomed. In the primary schools we visited, teachers seem to share a closeness and work cooperatively. It should be remembered, however, that nearly all primary teachers are in scale 1 or 2 posts and the differences in salary are small.

At the secondary level, the situation is more complex with a greater range of scale posts and greater competition for promotions. Though in general we didn't find teachers refusing to collaborate because of ladder incentives, the situation was not always positive. Some teachers, who were trying to advance, did not want to share their ideas unless they received recognition. In some schools, some teachers felt strongly that since department heads were paid to do extra work teachers should not help with this work unless they personally benefitted.

Competitve strains and discontent with the system seem to be greatest in schools where there was an expectation that promotions will go to teachers already at the school, i.e., will be filled from within. Where scale post promotions don't normally come from within, as is true in most primary schools, teachers seem to share materials and ideas freely in order to help each other advance to new posts.

LADDER EFFECTS ON TEACHER/HEAD TEACHER RELATIONSHIPS

The ladder affects work relationships between teachers and head teachers in several ways. Since head teachers had to work their way up through the scales they often remember the value of advice and help given them. To move up, teachers need opportunities to develop skills that will make them successful competitors. Head teachers can and do provide such opportunities for teachers on their staffs. In this context, the relationship between the head and the teachers often takes the form of a mentorship. Head teachers frequently advise teachers who aspire to higher scale posts of vacancies. Often they will call colleagues with advertised vacancies to recommend a member of their staff. They write recommendations and otherwise sponsor teachers.

Another way the ladder affects head teacher/teacher work relationships is through the sharing of responsibilities and the team management that develops in a school. Teachers share responsibility for curriculum with

deputy heads. Inservice and extra-curricular responsibilities are planned and carried out cooperatively. Tasks are rather broadly shared in the British school system. Most head teachers and deputies continue to teach, and in many schools scale 3 and 4 teachers assume some tasks that would be classified as "administrative" in American schools.

THE LADDER AND JOB CHOICES

The ladder definitely affects teacher decisions about where to work and how long to stay. If a teacher aspires to an upper scale post or administrative position (head or deputy head teacher), it is important that the resume reflect a variety of responsibilities held in different school settings, although there did not appear to be a "best" pattern of employment for promotion. Because responsibilities vary enormously from school to school, it would be difficult to predict just what responsibilities a teacher could hold during a career. It is probably fair to say that teachers seek scale post opportunities which conform to their own career aspirations. For example, a teacher who is interested in developing mathematics curriculum would likely not apply for a scale post which focused on counselling young girls in a given grade level. Ideally, a balance exists between the needs of a school and the talents of teachers in the school.

In most instances upper scale posts do represent significant leadership positions within the school. Teachers who hold these posts seem conscious of their leadership role in developing quality.

Administrative and Governance Considerations

STAFF SELECTION PROCEDURES

The officers involved in promotion decisions will vary to some degree by the level of scale post under consideration. For promotions to scale 2 posts the decision seems to be confined to the building, most likely the head teacher and the school governors. For scale 3 and above posts, a member of the local education authority inspectorate is likely to give advice on applicants.

Technically, teachers are employed by the local education authority, although in practice hiring of teachers is done at the local school level, not the local education authority level. Job descriptions are prepared at the school level. Head teachers and school governors interview candidates and offer employment.

The local education authority has an indirect check on hiring, however. Often an area inspector will participate in candidate screenings. Furthermore, a majority of the school governors are appointed by the county council in its capacity as a district board of education. The chairman of the governors must always be a council appointed member.

Hiring/promotion (i.e., staff selection) decisions generally follow this schedule:

a. Vacancy is created either by resignation, growth or when the local education authority creates another position.

b. The head teacher, in consultation with the chairman of governors and perhaps local inspector, develops the job description.

c. Position is nationally advertised.

d. Head and local inspector (especially scale 3 upward) develop a candidate list (usually 5) from applications.

e. The governors interview the candidates and make their selection. The head teacher and inspector will give professional advice to governors.

In some local authorities, if a job description is not acceptable, the position may be held up. The advice and recommendation of the head teacher tends to be important in the decision-making.

ADMINISTRATORS AND TEACHER EVALUATION

There is no formal, regular evaluation of British school teachers. They receive promotions through competitive interviews. The school governors make decisions on who receives each new post, although the recommendation (confidential report) of the head teacher is a key part of the decision. Even though evaluation is not conducted through a formalized set of procedures, teachers are evaluated informally by head teachers. Evidence of the evaluation can be found in recommendations written by head teachers for teachers applying for a new post, or by observing which teachers are highly regarded and given increased responsibilities in the school. Student achievement is not used to evaluate teachers.

CAREER LADDER EFFECTS ON HEAD TEACHERS

Head teachers are part of the scale post system, and must advance up the scale posts to become a head teacher. Because there is less emphasis on formal administrative training, people learn administration as they move up the scales. Each scale has increased responsibilities, which prepares the person to become a head teacher. The head teacher and deputy head still teach, but on a limited basis. By American standards, the British system is decentralized. The head teacher, although subject to the school governors on most policy and personnel matters, has great autonomy from the central office.

Many of the jobs which are usually done by a U.S. principal fall to the teachers in scale post positions in the British system. Secretarial support is lacking in British schools and teachers assume many of the duties which are usually done by clerk-typists.

Overall, the scale post system is complex. One school scale 2

may have more curriculum responsibility than a scale 4 in another school. The degree of responsibility varies from school to school and scale post to scale post. The higher the scale post, the greater the responsibility within a given school.

Since the schools are decentralized and there is no standardized curriculum, each school may decide on the allocation of responsibilities. Job descriptions for scale posts are usually written by the head teacher, subject to approval by the school governors and area inspectors. In the English system of scale posts, certain types of jobs are associated with the scale or ladder that teachers are on. Because there are no standard job descriptions, each head teacher can tailor a description to the needs of a particular school. It is understood that a job description may be renegotiated from time to time by the incumbent and the head teacher.

No special managerial or administrative training or schooling is required of the head teacher. On-the-job training is the most common form of training as a person works up through the ranks. However, some teachers enroll in graduate training to enhance their chances of promotion.

REMOVAL OF INEFFECTIVE TEACHERS

As noted, the British system lacks any formalized teacher evaluation procedure. Teachers or heads that are ineffective cannot be removed except for criminal conduct or breaches of professional standards. However, despite the lack of formal mechanisms for termination, teachers can be informally pressured to resign. An ineffective teacher may be "called in" by the head teacher. If that does not bring about desired changes in behavior, the teacher may be "called in" by the school governors. Teachers may resign rather than be "called in" a second time.

In the early 1960s and 1970s, teachers were moved up the scale posts rapidly which enabled some ineffective personnel to remain on the staff. The promotion system of scale post positions was to provide teacher incentive and initiative. However, once some of the teachers received their scale posts, they eventually lost their initiative and incentive. Since in Britain teachers are neither demoted nor evaluated, these ineffective people are financially secure on their scale posts. This causes some younger teachers to be disillusioned with the system.

Career and Occupational Impacts

Teachers may enter teaching in three ways:

a. They may take a three year teacher training course at a teacher training college and receive a certificate.

b. They may take a university baccalaurate degree and then take a one year teaching course which leads to a certificate.

c. In some cases university graduates may be certificated directly

without taking the fifth year. These teachers are known as "unqualified."

We were not able to determine whether the career ladder affects career entry decisions. Because the career ladder system is so much taken for granted in Britain, no one has bothered to estimate its impact on career choices.

The ladder does seem to affect decisions once people are in the occupation. Most teachers we interviewed had developed career goals and could talk about their plans for the next several years. Some had decided not to seek promotion and could give reasons for their decision. It may have been that they didn't want to move, perhaps they didn't want to take additional responsibilities, or didn't feel personally qualified. Those who had set their sights on higher scale posts could describe the steps they were taking to prepare themselves for promotion competitions. They had appraised their own strengths and were working to correct perceived weaknesses. Some were enrolled in graduate programs, others were voluntarily engaged in apprentice-like assignments in their present schools to learn new skills.

We also found that inability to advance was a major source of dissatisfaction among teachers; promotion successes may be, therefore, a source of satisfaction and a motivator to stay in teaching. Teachers who get promoted have had to demonstrate ability, so presumably competent teachers achieve promotion to higher scale posts. Thus, it seems likely that the British system may encourage good teachers and they may be more likely to remain.

The system is very weak, however, when it comes to weeding out ineffective teachers. Because there is little chance of demotion, teachers may reach a high scale post, tire and become ineffective, yet remain in that post.

Other Impacts

PUBLIC INTEREST IN THE LADDER

The British career ladder seems not to be of great concern to patrons and the general public. Generally parents are unaware of the scale teachers have obtained; therefore, they do not request teachers on the basis of scales. As there is no standardized testing, it would be difficult to determine if students gain more because they have a higher scale teacher.

ASSIGNMENT PRIORITIES

Upper scale teachers do receive special consideration in assignment of classes. In larger schools the department heads make the assignments and scale 1 and 2 teachers get the less desirable classes to teach. In the smaller schools the head teachers make the teaching assignments, but again the newer or scale 1 teachers are less likely to be favored.

MAJOR CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE BRITISH CAREER LADDER

Schools in Great Britain have considerable autonomy and vary greatly in the way provisions of the career ladder are implemented. British schools are allowed to design curriculum, choose textbooks and, within general staffing guidelines and budgets, recruit and select staff. There are no district wide or national student competency or graduation requirements. There is no standardized achievement testing program and, except for concerns with the national exams taken by college bound 16 and 18 year olds, British schools are free to set curriculum standards and achievement goals. Schools can and do use career ladder posts differently and this leads to variability in the distribution of responsibilities among schools. Teachers' commitment to the career ladder also seems affected by the way positions are used.

The differentiated staffing arrangement employed in Britain is a ladder that emphasizes growth and career development. Promotions are relatively permanent, and are won on the basis of capacity for additional job responsibility. Presumably each promotion results in a new challenge and successive positions carry increased leadership responsibilty and greater salary. Although teachers must compete for promotions, the British career ladder is not a merit pay system. Promotions are based largely on readiness to assume additional leadership responsibilities.

The British career ladder contains powerful incentives for teachers. Teachers plan their careers around the possibility for promotion and prepare for the responsibilities that are commonly associated with higher level jobs. Often they make career moves to gain certain skills or have the opportunity to undertake certain responsibilities. A further indication of the power of the career ladder is the fact that teachers complain bitterly about "promotion blockages" due to declining enrollments and funding cutbacks.

The career ladder system in Britain encourages teacher mobility. Teachers in Britain move among workplaces more frequently than their U. S. counterparts. Several features in the career ladder system seem responsible for this higher mobility. First, teachers in Britain are all paid on the same salary schedule and thus suffer no financial penalty in moving to another position. Second, career ladder posts in individual schools are filled through open competition. Position vacancies are advertised nationally and successful applicants often come from another school or school district. The belief among teachers is that promotion will be more rapid if you are willing to move. Third, teachers move laterally to improve promotion prospects. They seek learning opportunities and experiences that will make them more attractive candidates when they seek a higher scale post.

The career ladder cultivates instructional leadership and develops commitment to school improvement. Teachers learn instructional leadership by taking increasing and varied responsibility as they move through scale posts. By the time they become assistant principals or principals

they have held a succession of posts requiring them to give leadership and direction to several curriculum areas or to increasingly large work groups within the school. The career ladder brings about a sharing of leadership functions within the school. Those sharing in the leadership develop a sense of ownership of the department or school program and show concern about instructional quality. In many schools we found teachers very aware of and concerned with the work of colleagues. There was often a sense of urgency about improving curriculum and instruction in the school. In these schools teachers shared ideas freely and coached one another to improve instruction.

The career ladder allows leadership responsibilities to be divided and perhaps done more completely and efficiently. Because curriculum and staff development functions are shared among a fairly large number of teachers, attention was more focused and the task was often done more satisfactorily. Because they were relieved of some tasks, principals had more time to devote to instructional leadership and, in most cases, time to teach.

Each school can tailor career ladder posts to school program needs and recruit staff according to those needs. Each school has a quota of career ladder positions which are determined by an age/size weighted formula. Schools prepare their own job descriptions for each career ladder position which are used to recruit and select candidates for each vacancy. The freedom to recruit and select staff forces principals and teachers in schools to define their personnel needs and allows staffing decisions to satisfy those needs. Most schools take this opportunity seriously, and work to recruit and select staff who will strengthen the faculty and lead to school improvement. In some schools, however, job descriptions and selection of staff are not taken as seriously. In these schools career ladder posts may be trivial and not contribute to school mission accomplishment.

The British formula for distributing career ladder posts provides fewer career opportunities for teachers in elementary schools. Career ladder positions are allocated to schools on the basis of an age/size weighted formula. Each school has a certain number of "points" which determine the career ladder positions available to the school. These points are determined by totaling the unit (age weighted) values of each student enrolled in the school. Students under 14 count 2 units, 14 year olds count 3 units, 15 year olds 4 units, 16 year olds count 6 units and those 17 and older count 8 units. The unit total for a large secondary school is therefore much greater than for a small elementary school. Unit totals determine both the highest post in a school, and the number of posts. Scale 2 is the highest post below deputy head teacher available in most elementary schools, while secondary schools usually have scale 4 posts available.

Teacher performance is not systematically evaluated in British schools. Teachers who are promoted through the system of career ladder posts are evaluated by principals and inspectors, but those evaluations are highly subjective and are forwarded only as "confidential reports",

usually not available to the teacher. Reactions to the reliance on confidential reports is mixed. Many teachers, union leaders, administrators and government officials believe that a more regular, objective system of teacher assessment is needed in Britain.

Outstanding teachers who are unwilling to assume additional responsibilities or who are unable to control mobility do not benefit directly from the British career ladder system. Although it is most often the case that one must be a good teacher to be promoted, it is not true that all good teachers get promoted. Promotion in the British system is accompanied by the assumption of additional responsibilities, i.e., it results in a "new" (or at least modified) job. Teachers who are content to be good classroom teachers and who do not seek extra duties will not be promoted on the career ladder. Because promotions are competitive, teachers who are unable to pursue posts in other locations have restricted opportunities. Since most promotions in elementary schools and many promotions in secondary schools go to outsiders, insiders may have a long wait for a promotion. Forced mobility where a teacher moves to accompany a spouse is also a problem as there are no guarantees that a similar post will be available in the new location. Thus some scale 4 teachers must take scale 2 positions in a new location.

THE BRITISH LADDER AND AMERICAN SCHOOLS

We undertook this study to find out about the effects of career ladders. Utah and other states had become interested in the career ladder as a major reform. It is hoped by many that the promotion and salary incentives in a career ladder will rejuvenate the teaching work force and lead to overall educational improvement.

There are substantial risks in pursuing large scale career ladder reforms, however, simply because so little is known about short and long term effects. Policy makers are rightfully reluctant to put large amounts of tax revenue into programs that may not succeed or may be counterproductive over time. This study was undertaken to try to provide information that would reduce the uncertainty about career ladders.

The focus of the study was the career ladder that has been in use in Britain for more than forty years. We found in Britain a five step teacher career ladder that uses a job enlargement design. As teachers win promotion, they assume additional duties which go with their new position. The selection mechanism is competitive application. Teachers apply for scale posts which represent a promotion and compete with others who seek the same post. Norms of open competition, need to always select the most qualified applicant regardless of current work location, and teacher work force mobility appear to reinforce the process. Although the British career ladder is not without flaws, it seems to work reasonably well in Britain.

CAN THE BRITISH CAREER LADDER BE ADOPTED BY U.S. SCHOOL DISTRICTS?

Structures and systems always reflect their cultural setting to some degree. Certainly the British teacher career ladder reflects cultural attitudes toward schooling and teachers. For instance, the British have a fiercely independent spirit when it comes to individual and local matters. This stubborn independence is sometimes referred to as "bloody-mindedness." British schools reflect this independence in their autonomy and diversity. In the United States we are much more corporate minded when it comes to the management of local public schools. We stress efficiency and scale, and rely on centralized decision making to get results. Our school systems operate with strong school boards and central office staffs; our schools are directed and closely monitored by this central structure. This corporate view may also partly explain why American school principals function as middle managers while British head teachers function as instructional leaders.

In light of these cultural differences, it would be wrong to assume that the British career ladder could be copied directly and would work exactly the same in U. S. schools. It seems unlikely that local school boards in the U. S. will voluntarily abandon their traditional role and delegate significant personnel and curriculum authority to individual schools, for instance. Yet in significant ways, the British career ladder fits into, and reinforces a pattern of local school autonomy.

Even though some aspects of the British career ladder for teachers may be culturally dependent, that is not to say that the ladder is totally culture bound. The British constructed the ladder. They continue to modify it from time to time. British educators and politicians had options for organizing pay scales and job assignments of teachers; they chose the ladder from among them. As a constructed reality, the ladder, or parts of it, may be expected to be transportable. We can also compare it with other constructed realities, and draw conclusions about its effects.

CAN A CAREER LADDER IMPROVE TEACHING?

It appears that a career ladder of the type used in Britain can have a positive impact on teaching quality. A pattern of differentiated positions has been successful in providing career opportunities to teachers in Britain, and probably has contributed in significant ways to the improvement of education in that country. There are many advantages to a career ladder program with differentiated responsibilities in American schools.

a. Teachers with proven ability can be placed in leadership positions. These teachers can be models and mentors to younger teachers and can promote better teaching in general. They can be a significant force in developing good, workable curriculum that will enhance student learning.

b. The career ladder can be an effective leadership development device. Not only will there be a significant cadre of teachers in leadership positions in each school, but principals and assistant principals will be better prepared for their roles through experiences they will have received moving up the career ladder before becoming administrators.

c. Because leadership functions are more widely shared in the school, more teachers have a stake in school performance. More people are directly involved in school improvement activities.

d. There is opportunity and incentive for teachers to grow, to develop new skills, to accept new challenges. Although the career ladder is not a cure-all for teacher burnout, it certainly can reduce it.

e. To the extent that the career ladder can make teaching a more challenging and rewarding occupation, it can become a powerful incentive to attract and retain qualified people in the profession.

The career ladder has survived a long while in Britain. It certainly seems to have qualities which justify experimentation with it in the United States. The risks in such experimentation appear manageable.

Appendix A

BRITISH CAREER LADDER STUDY

Information Categories and Questions

I. History of British Career Ladder System

A. When was the career ladder concept first implemented?

B. Why did the career ladder come into use?

C. What modifications have been made in the ladder?

II. Structure of the British Career Ladder

A. How many steps or categories in the ladder?

B. Job differentiation in the ladder

1. Are different duties or expectations attached to different steps, i.e., are there different job descriptions for each step in the ladder?

2. Are job descriptions for each step alike across schools? across education authorities?

3. How are job descriptions developed?

C. Pay structure within the ladder

1. What are pay provisions across steps? How big are step differentials? What is the pay spread across the system?

2. What are pay provisions within each step? Is there a wage scale within each step? If so, how is progression determined?

3. Does training and/or experience affect pay?

D. Quotas in the ladder

1. Are there limits on the number of teachers who can hold a given ladder position, e.g. quotas?

2. How are quotas determined?

3. How are career ladder positions allocated within authorities? Within schools?

E. Promotion on the ladder

1. What criteria are used for promotion?
2. Is merit or performance considered? If so, how is it measured?
3. Who makes promotion decisions?
4. Is there provision for peer input?
5. What provisions are made for appeals? Can a teacher appeal a promotion decision?
6. Is "demotion" possible? Does it ever happen? Are promotions permanent?

F. Economic considerations

1. How is the ladder funded?
2. How does the ladder affect the overall cost of education?

III British experience with the career ladder

A. The ladder from the teachers viewpoint

1. How does the ladder affect teacher satisfaction? What is the general level of morale among British teachers? Would they keep the Burnham system if they could do otherwise?
2. Which teachers are motivated to seek higher ladder posts? Do administrators enourage some teachers to seek higher posts? How are they encouraged? What do they do to prepare for higher posts?
3. How do teachers view promotion decisions? Are promotions generally seen as being deserved?
4. How does the ladder affect the way teachers work together? Does the difference in pay or status hinder sharing and cooperative work relationships? Do teachers withhold ideas or information from others to gain a promotion edge?
5. How does the ladder affect the way principals and teachers work together?
6. Does the ladder affect teacher decisions about where to work and how long to stay? Is there a "best" pattern of employment for those who what to reach the upper scales?
7. How do teaches on the lowest scale feel about their status and work in the school?

8. Do teachers on the upper reaches of the scale assume greater responsibility for school quality? Do they actively concern themselves with issues of the profession?

B. The ladder from the administrators viewpoint

1. Which administrators are involved in promotion decisions? What role do chief education officers and inspectors play? Are head teachers constrained in hiring/promotion decisions?

2. What measures or evaluation tools are used to make decisions about ladder placement? Are they the same measures used for general evaluation of teacher performance? Is student outcome a factor?

3. How does the ladder affect the job of the building administrator?

4. What things do scale 3,4 and 5 teachers do that would ordinarily be done by a principal in a U. S. school? (Curriculum development, staff development, supervision, facilities management)

5. Do head teachers seem to delegate certain jobs to upper scale teachers?

6. Does the head teacher define the job of upper scale teachers, especially the non-teaching responsibilities?

7. What special training do head teachers get to help them with management, particularly regarding career ladder related decisions and actions?

8. Do administrators feel that there is less "dead wood" in British schools because of the career ladder? Can they use the career ladder to encourage certain teaching behaviors?

C. Career and occupational impacts

1. Is there any evidence that the ladder affects occupational choice in Britain? What educational backgrounds do students who elect teacher training have?

2. How does the career ladder affect the quantity and/or quality of the teaching force? Do people elect to stay in teaching because of the opportunity to move up?

D. Other impacts

1. How much do parents consider scale of teacher? Do they request a higher scale teacher for their children?

2, Do upper scale teachers receive special consideration in assignment of classes? Extra, non-ladder duties?

3. Can the career ladder be related to student outcomes in any way? Do teachers or administrators think it affects student learning?

IV Context

A. What are pupil-teacher ratios generally?

B. How much is spent annually to educate one student (per-pupil expenditure)?

C. What are public attitudes toward schools?

D. What is the function of the Local Education Authority in hiring? Working conditions?

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Atkinson, G.B.C. The Economics of Education. Great Britain: Hodder and Stoughton, 1983.

Bell, Robert and Nigel Grant, Patterns of Education in the British Isles. (Unwin Education Books: 37), London: George Allen and Unwin, 1977.

Brooksbank, Kenneth, James Revell, Eric Ackstine, and Kenneth Bailey, County and Voluntary Schools. 6th Edition. United Kingdom: Councils and Education Press, Longman Group Limited, 1982.

Bush, Tony, Ron Glatter, Jane Goodey, Colin Riches (Eds.), Approaches to School Management. London: Harper & Row, 1983.

Dent, H. C., Education in England and Wales, 2nd Edition. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1982.

The Educational System of England and Wales. (August 1983). London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Fenwick, Keith and Peter McBride, The Government of Education. Oxford: Martin Robertson, 1981.

Hargreaves, David H. Social Relations in a Secondary School. London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981.

Kogan, Maurice, Educational Policy-Making: A Study of Interest Groups and Parliament. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1975.

Kogan, Maurice with Willem Van Der Eyken, County Hall: The Role of the Chief Education Officer. Middlesex: Penguin Education, 1974.

Local Government in Britain. (1980). London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Lyons, Geoffrey, Teacher Careers and Career Perceptions. Windsor, Berks: NFER Nelson Publishing Company, 1981.

Mann, John, Education. Government and Administration Series. London: Pitman Publishing Limited, 1979.

Morgan, Colin, Valerie Hall and Hugh Mackay, The Selection of Secondary School Headteachers. Milton Keynes, England: Open University Press, 1983.

Ozga, J. T. and M. A. Lawn, Teachers Professionalism and Class: A Study of Organized Teachers. Hampshire, England: The Falmer Press, a member of the Taylor and Francis Group, 1981.

Regan, D.E., Local Government and Education, 2nd Edition. The New Local Government Series 15. London, England: George Allen and Unwin, 1979.

Scales of Salaries for Teachers: Primary and Secondary Education, England and Wales. (1983). Department of Education and Science. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Scales of Salaries for Teachers in Further Education, England and Wales. (1983). Department of Education and Science. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Teaching Quality. (March 1983). Presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for Education and Science and by the Secretary of State for Wales by Command of Her Majesty. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Ten Good Schools: A Secondary School Enquiry. (1979). Department of Education and Science HMI Series: Matters for Discussion 1. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Waters, Derek, Responsibility and Promotion in the Primary School. London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1983.